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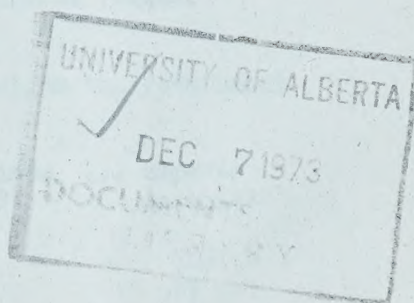
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GOVERNMENT BY POLITICIANS
EXPERTS, OR THE PEOPLE?



Report No. 98

6 March 1948
ICD OFINION SURVEYS
OICUS APO 742
Berlin Germany

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"SHOULD ALL THE PEOPLE DECIDE WHAT DIRECTION THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD TAKE, OR SHOULD ONLY THE POLITICIANS DO THAT?"

This question was asked of a representative cross-section of the inhabitants of the American Zone during November, 1947 by interviewers for ICD Opinion Surveys. Because it was feared that the word "politicians" (Politiker) might have a negatively biasing effect, the split-ballot technique was used, and for another, exactly comparable half of the sample the word "experts" (Fachleute) was substituted.

The results show that there is an overwhelming majority in favor of the popular determination of policy, as opposed to its determination by either politicians or experts. Between seven and eight people in ten (depending on the wording used) come out firmly for the more democratic solution. When the alternative offered is "experts", slightly less than one person in four favor the "experts." When "politicians" are offered in opposition to "all the people," only one person in seven will accept them. Clearly, "experts" are more popular than "politicians." The figures follow:

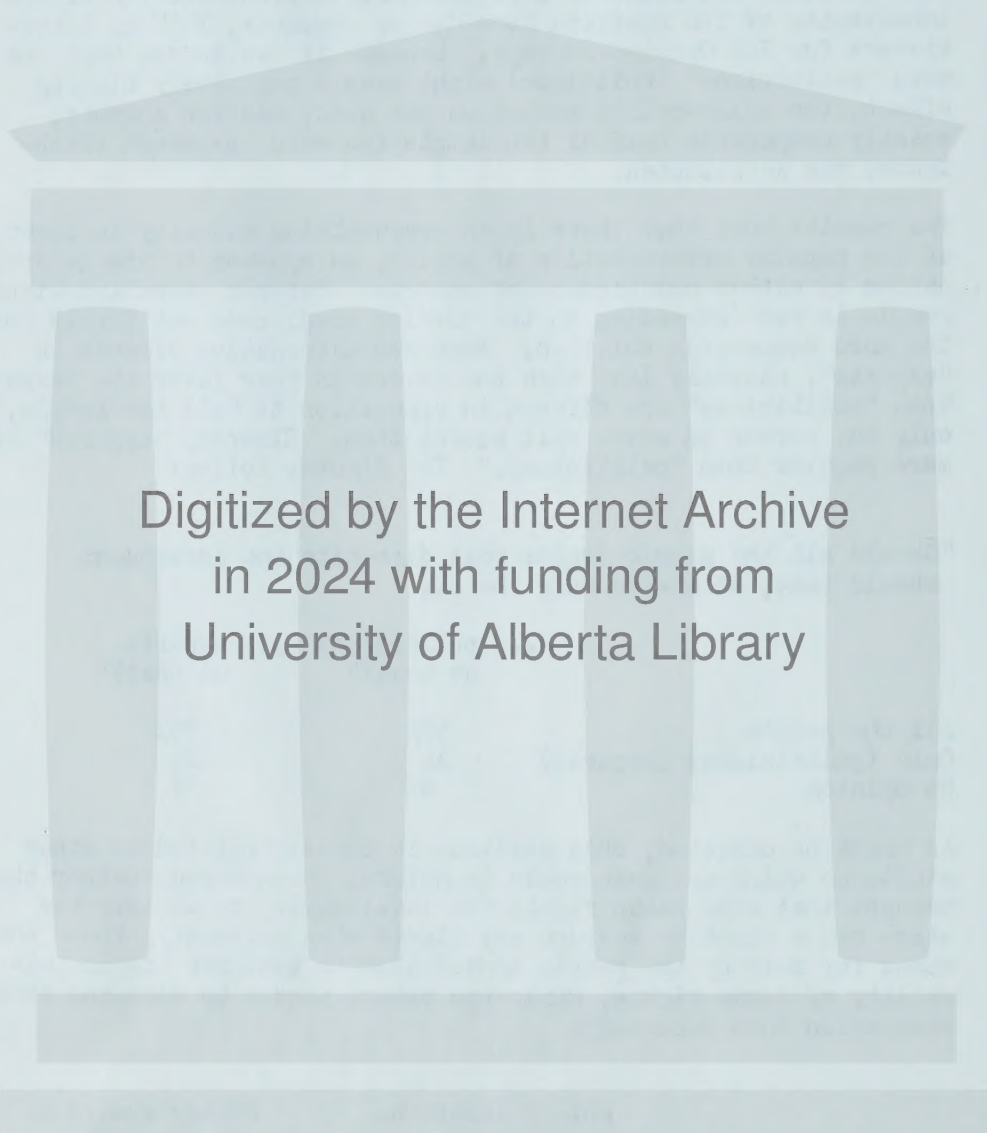
"Should all the people decide what direction the government should take, or should only the ...

	... politicians do that?"	... experts do that?"
All the people	78%	70%
Only (politicians) (experts)	14	23
No opinion	8	7

As might be expected, this attitude is closely related to other attitudes which are democratic in nature. When asked whether they thought that some human rights are inalienable, or whether the state had a right to suspend any rights when necessary, those who voted for rule by the people tended also to vote for the inviolability of human rights, while the others tended to vote for their suspension when necessary.

	Policy should be determined by ...		Policy should be determined by ...	
	the people	the politicians	the people	the experts
Any of the individual's rights may be suspended by the state if it serves the good of the people to do so	41%	46%	38%	46%
The individual has certain rights which the State can not under any conditions suspend	52	41	52	41
No opinion	$\frac{7}{100\%}$	$\frac{13}{100\%}$	$\frac{10}{100\%}$	$\frac{13}{100\%}$

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Similarly, when questioned about racial theory, those people who thought the experts should determine policy also tended to think that some races were more fit to rule than others.

"Do you think that some of the races of mankind are more fit to rule than others are?"

	Policy should be determined by ...	
	the people	the experts
Yes	43%	48%
No	44	34
No opinion	<u>13</u>	<u>18</u>
	100%	100%

It is interesting to note, from Tables I & II (below), that most strongly opposed to both politicians and experts are the members of political parties. These party members appear most consistently in favor of determination of policy by the people themselves. On the other hand, educated people appear to differentiate sharply between the two choices offered. They reject the politician sharply, when given that choice, and vote for the people by a greater margin than the population average. But when the choice is between "the people" and "experts", the vote for the people drops below the average for the population, and practically three educated people out of ten say they are willing to leave the basic policy decisions to those whom they accept as "experts".

Only two other population groups show up conspicuously in their responses to this question. Men, as compared with women, and ~~Austrians~~, as opposed to the people in other ~~Laender~~, each show a larger vote for the determination of policy by the people, rather than by either special group.

SUMMARY

About three people in every four in the American Zone of Germany pay at least lip service to the democratic thesis that basic policy should be determined by the people, rather than by politicians or experts. This attitude is related to several other "democratic" attitudes. Of the alternatives provided, people are more willing to trust "experts" than "politicians". More than other groups, members of political parties are in favor of determination of policy by the people. Educated people are more opposed to "politicians", but tend rather to accept the label "expert".

TABLE I

"Should all the people determine what direction the government should follow, or should only the politicians do that?"

	<u>People</u>	<u>Politicians</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>
AMZON	78%	14%	8%
Bavaria	76	15	9
Hesse	82	12	6
W-Baden	79	14	7
Berlin	83	15	2
<u>PARTY-MEMBERSHIP</u>			
Member	92	8	-
Non-Member	77	15	8
<u>SEX</u>			
Men employable	86	12	2
Women employable	71	17	12
<u>EDUCATION</u>			
Eight years or less	76	15	9
Nine years or more	85	13	2

TABLE II

"Should all the people determine what direction the government should follow, or should only the experts do that?"

	<u>People</u>	<u>Experts</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>
AMZON	70%	23%	7%
Bavaria	66	25	9
Hesse	76	19	5
W-Baden	71	22	7
Berlin	71	27	2
<u>PARTY-MEMBERSHIP</u>			
Member	82	12	6
Non-Member	69	24	7
<u>SEX</u>			
Men employable	78	18	4
Women employable	65	26	9
<u>EDUCATION</u>			
Eight years or less	70	22	8
Nine years or more	67	29	4

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